

NSC BRIEFING

23 May 1957

MAO'S SECRET SPEECHES

- I. Mao Tse-tung has set forth fundamental guidelines for Chinese policy in two speeches to government and party officials (27 February and 12 March).
- II. Although these speeches have not yet been published, we can reconstruct Mao's analysis from Chinese Communist press commentaries statements of Polish Communists, [REDACTED]
- A. Mao admitted that Communist China was beset by many domestic "contradictions"--conflicts of interest--but he insisted these were "nonantagonistic contradictions" which could be resolved through persuasion and discussion--not force.
1. He said "antagonistic contradictions"--those "between us and the enemy"--were no longer the main problem in China.
- B. Mao was especially concerned with the "nonantagonistic"--and therefore adjustable--contradiction between the masses and the Communist leaders.
1. Leaders at all levels have been ordered out to work with their hands part-time alongside the peasants and workers.
2. In a so-called "rectification" movement, officials are required to restudy the Communist classics and gain a renewed sense of identity with the masses.
- C. Mao strongly reaffirmed his intention to "let all flowers bloom together and let all schools of thought contend."
1. Mao asserted this would not endanger the supremacy of party-sponsored doctrine.

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2. His remarks here took on a strong anti-Soviet coloration

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III. His preoccupation with the question of conflicting interests between the Chinese masses and the Communist leadership suggests that he sees some parallels between popular unrest in East Europe and the state of popular morale in China.

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A. The people are tending to make "more critical judgments" of the Communists,

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B. people now refer to the regime as "they"--formerly they spoke of "we".

IV. Many Poles have picked up Mao's analysis with enthusiasm.

A. Some Poles recently returned from China see in it implicit Chinese support for Gomulka's liberalization program and Poland's course toward greater independence from Moscow.

B. At recent Party Plenum, Gomulka praised the "flowers" concept as a "bold step forward, so far unknown in the practice of socialist construction in other countries."

V. The Kremlin--at least at first--did not present Mao's ideas as being out of harmony with its own campaign against bureaucratic rigidity.

A. Mao actually borrowed from Soviet theoretical writings which have also distinguished between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions.

- B. Pravda last month reprinted an extensive Chinese Communist press commentary on Mao's speeches.
 - C. The Soviet press, however, has made no comment of its own on the speeches.
- VI. Despite anti-Soviet overtones being read into Mao's speeches, he is far from aligning himself with hostile critics of Kremlin policies.
- A. His reasoning leaves the door open for repressive measures against groups who cause nonantagonistic contradictions to take an antagonistic or "enemy" form.
 - 1. Mao approves Soviet action in Hungary.
 - B. The Soviet Union is getting its usual fulsome praise in the Chinese press.